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	FBIE-00	VC-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	L-00	VCE-00
	AC-01	DCP-01	NSAE-00	OMB-01	OPIC-01	PA-00	PM-00
	PRS-00	ACE-00	P-00	SP-00	SSO-00	TRSE-00	USIE-00
	R-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	DRL-02	G-00	NFAT-00	SAS-00
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FM AMEMBASSY HARARE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8429
INFO NSC WASHDC IMMEDIATE
SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 HARARE 001023

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NSC FOR SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR JENDAYI FRAZER

LONDON FOR CHARLES GURNEY

PARIS FOR BISA WILLIAMS

NAIROBI FOR TERRY PFLAUMER

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/15/11

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SUBJECT: AF A/PDAS BELLAMY HEARS DEFIANCE, VILIFICATION
OF THE BRITISH AND LITTLE GIVE-AND-TAKE IN MEETINGS WITH
GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE OFFICIALS

CLASSIFIED BY CHARGE D'AFFAIRES EARL M. IRVING FOR
REASONS 1.5 (B) AND (D).

1. (C) SUMMARY: ON MARCH 8 AND 9, ACTING PRINCIPAL
DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY MARK BELLAMY MET WITH
MINISTER OF STATE FOR NATIONAL SECURITY NICHOLAS GOCHE,
THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS' PERMANENT SECRETARY
WILLARD CHIWWE, AND HOME AFFAIRS MINISTER JOHN NKOMO.
BELLAMY REITERATED U.S. CONCERN FOR THE BREAKDOWN IN THE
RULE OF LAW AND AMERICAN UNWILLINGNESS TO LOOK THE OTHER
WAY WHEN DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES AND HUMAN RIGHTS ARE AT
STAKE. ALL THREE SEEMED TO RESPOND FROM THE SAME
SCRIPT. THE MEETINGS WERE CHARACTERIZED BY A GOVERNMENT
VILIFICATION OF THE UK FOR ZIMBABWE'S PROBLEMS, A
LABELING OF THE MDC AS AN ILLEGITIMATE PARTY BANKROLLED
BY FOREIGN INTERESTS, AN EXPLANATION OF THE "FAST-TRACK"
LAND PROGRAM AS THE UNFINISHED BUSINESS OF THE
LIBERATION STRUGGLE, AND AN UNAPOLOGETIC ATTITUDE ABOUT
THE VIOLENCE PERPETRATED BY WAR VETERANS. END SUMMARY.

U.S. CONCERN GROWING

2. (C) IN ALL THREE OF HIS MEETINGS WITH GOZ OFFICIALS,
ACTING PRINCIPAL DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY BELLAMY
STATED THAT THE NEW U.S. ADMINISTRATION WILL BE LOOKING
MORE CLOSELY AT ZIMBABWE. THERE IS GROWING CONCERN IN
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WASHINGTON OVER THE WORSENING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC
CRISES IN ZIMBABWE, BELLAMY POINTED OUT, AND THAT THE
USG IS CONSIDERING WHAT SHOULD BE ITS ROLE IN OVERCOMING
THESE CRISES. THE EROSION OF THE RULE OF LAW IN
ZIMBABWE IS HAVING AN IMPACT ON THE ENTIRE REGION, AS
FOREIGN INVESTORS STEER CLEAR OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE
HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION, WITH ATTACKS ON THE JUDICIARY,
MEDIA, AND OPPOSITION, ARE OF PARTICULAR CONCERN, THE
ACTING PDAS SAID. HE FURTHER STRESSED THAT THE U.S.
DOES NOT SEEK AN ADVERSARIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH ZIMBABWE,
BUT IT CANNOT LOOK THE OTHER WAY WHEN BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS
ARE ABUSED AGAIN AND AGAIN WITH IMPUNITY.

THE UK IS TO BLAME FOR OUR PROBLEMS

3. (C) EVERY MINISTER WITH WHOM BELLAMY MET RESPONDED
BY VILIFYING THE UK IN THE MOST STRIDENT LANGUAGE AND
PLACED THE BLAME FOR ZIMBABWE'S TROUBLES AT THEIR FEET.
IN A LONG, RAMBLING DISCOURSE, GOCHE BLAMED THE BRITISH
FOR THWARTING ZIMBABWE'S ATTEMPTS AT LAND REFORM SINCE
DAY ONE. HE CITED THE 1997 LETTER BY MINISTER CLARE
SHORT TO THE ZIMBABWEAN MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE THAT

STATED THE LABOR GOVERNMENT WAS NOT INTERESTED IN COLONIAL MATTERS AND WOULD NOT HONOR OBLIGATIONS UNDERTAKEN BY THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT. GOCHE REPORTED THAT MUGABE, UPON HEARING THE LETTER READ ALOUD, SAID, "IF THEY WON'T HONOR THEIR OBLIGATIONS, WE WON'T EITHER." THE SECURITY MINISTER PROFESSED THE BELIEF THAT THE BRITISH DID NOT WANT ZANU-PF TO DELIVER LAND TO ITS SUPPORTERS IN THE RURAL AREAS, AND THAT IT WANTED TO

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CAPITALIZE ON DISAFFECTION IN THE URBAN AREAS IN ORDER TO OUST MUGABE.

14. (C) MINISTER NKOMO SAID THE GOZ FELT "BETRAYED" BY THE UK, AND THAT IT IS "PREPARED TO FIGHT" THEM. THE BRITISH ARE ESSENTIALLY MAKING A RACIAL ISSUE OUT OF THEIR CONDEMNATION OF ZIMBABWE, AND SIMPLY WANT TO PROTECT THEIR "KITH AND KIN," I.E. WHITE ZIMBABWEANS, HE ARGUED. NKOMO COMPLAINED THAT THE BRITISH WOULD NOT ALLOW THE GOZ TO USE LAND ROVERS THEY HAD SOLD TO THEM TO EXPEL WAR VETERANS FROM OCCUPIED FARMS. NKOMO AND MFA PERMSEC CHIWWE CASTIGATED THE UK (AND THE U.S. AS WELL) FOR FAILING TO DELIVER ON PROMISES TO FUND LAND REFORM IN ZIMBABWE. CHIWWE ITERATED THE GOZ'S GREAT CONCERN THAT THE U.S. IS FALLING UNDER THE SWAY OF THE UK'S POLICY ON ZIMBABWE, AND URGED THE U.S. TO PROVIDE LEADERSHIP IN HELPING ZIMBABWE. BELLAMY RESPONDED THAT THE U.S. WILL MAKE ITS OWN DECISIONS ON ZIMBABWE AND WILL NOT BE "SWAYED" BY OTHER NATIONS.

MDC A STOOGES OF FOREIGN INTERESTS

15. (C) ALL THREE INTERLOCUTORS CHARACTERIZED THE OPPOSITION MDC AS A CREATION OF FOREIGN INTERESTS FUNDED

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	FBIE-00	VC-00	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	L-00	VCE-00
	AC-01	DCP-01	NSAE-00	OMB-01	OPIC-01	PA-00	PM-00
	PRS-00	ACE-00	P-00	SP-00	SSO-00	TRSE-00	USIE-00
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 HARARE 001023

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ALMOST ENTIRELY WITH FOREIGN MONEY. CHIWWE STATED THAT ZIMBABWEANS HAVE STRUGGLED TO UPHOLD HUMAN RIGHTS WITH THOSE THAT ONCE POINTED GUNS AT THEM, BUT WHEN THEY START GETTING MONEY FROM OUTSIDE TO THREATEN ZIMBABWE'S VALUES AND PRINCIPLES, IT BECOMES A DIFFERENT STORY. HE FLATLY ACCUSED THE U.S. AND UK OF "FANNING" THE MDC SO THAT IT COULD OUST PRESIDENT MUGABE. HE SAID THE U.S. NOT ONLY WANTS TO SEE ZANU-PF OUT OF POWER, IT WANTS TO SEE THE MDC IN STATE HOUSE. BELLAMY ASSURED THE PERMSEC THAT THE U.S. HAS NO INTEREST IN WHICH PARTY GOVERNS ZIMBABWE, ONLY IN HOW IT ATTAINS POWER. NKOMO STATED THAT ZIMBABWE WAS "UNDER SIEGE" AND HAD TO PROTECT ITS SOVEREIGNTY FROM THE FOREIGN-FUNDED LACKEYS OF THE MDC. GOCHE CLAIMED THAT THE BRITISH HAD CHanneled A LARGE AMOUNT OF MONEY THROUGH THEIR HIGH COMMISSION IN MALAWI TO FUND THE START-UP OF THE OPPOSITION PARTY.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

16. (C) CHIWWE STATED THAT THE LAND ISSUE IS THE "UNFINISHED BUSINESS" OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE, THAT THE MASSES ARE STILL LIVING AS THEY WERE IN 1980, OR EVEN IN 1890, WHEN THE BRITISH FIRST ARRIVED. IF THE DONORS ARE NOT GOING TO HELP US WITH LAND, CHIWWE BLUSTERED, THEN "LET US BE THE POOREST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD IF IT MEANS ZIMBABWEANS HAVE THEIR OWN LAND. IF

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WE FAIL (TO GIVE THEM LAND), THEN LET THE PEOPLE TURN US OUT." NKOMO BLAMED IMF AND WORLD BANK FOR CAUSING THE FAILURE OF THE 1998 DONORS CONFERENCE AGREEMENT, AND THE COMMERCIAL FARMERS UNION (CFU) FOR STALLING PROGRESS SINCE THEN. NKOMO SAID HE WAS DISAPPOINTED WITH HIS FRIENDS IN THE CFU, THAT THEY HAD BETRAYED HIS TRUST. MANY IN THE CFU ARE NOT "SERIOUS-MINDED" AND ONLY MAKE OFFERS FOR A SETTLEMENT AS A DELAYING TACTIC, NKOMO OPINED. GOCHE ADMITTED THAT THE GOZ HAD MADE MISTAKES IN THE LAND RESETTLEMENT EXERCISE, BUT IF IT FINDS A SOLUTION TO THE ISSUE, ITS PROBLEMS WILL BE SOLVED.

NO PROBLEM WITH THE WAR VETS

17. (C) THE GOZ OFFICIALS GENERALLY TOOK AN UNAPOLOGETIC ATTITUDE TOWARD THE WAR VETERANS' RAMPAGE ACROSS THE COUNTRY. CHIWWE ARGUED THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S LAND RESETTLEMENT EXERCISE AND THE FARM OCCUPATIONS BY WAR VETERANS ARE SEPARATE ISSUES. THE POLICE AND ARMY SHOULD NOT BE ASKED TO FIGHT THEIR FELLOW LIBERATION FIGHTERS, THE PERMSEC CONTENTED. THE HOME AFFAIRS MINISTER IMPLIED THAT THE WAR VETERANS ARE "WORKING TO MAKE THE ENVIRONMENT SECURE FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION." IN THE PAST, AFTER THE POLICE REMOVED WAR VETS FROM OCCUPIED FARMS, THEY WOULD SIMPLY RETURN A FEW DAYS LATER, NKOMO REMARKED. "WE ARE NOW IN CONTROL OF THE WAR VETS," HE CLAIMED. A LOT OF CRIMINALS ARE RUNNING AROUND CLAIMING TO BE WAR VETERANS, BUT THE GOZ IS CRACKING DOWN ON THEM WITH A NEW CONSTABULARY FORCE THAT WILL HAVE ENOUGH PERSONNEL TO FIGHT THE CRIMINALS,

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THE MINISTER ASSERTED. HIS MINISTRY HAS COMPILED A LIST OF 740 CASES OF VIOLENT ACTS TO BE PROSECUTED, ONE OF WHICH HAS ALREADY SEEN THE CONVICTION OF A COP-KILLER, NKOMO REPORTED. GOCHE REPORTED THAT THE GOVERNMENT AND THE WAR VETS HAD REACHED AN UNDERSTANDING ON MARCH 7 THAT WOULD SOON SEE THE OCCUPIERS MOVE OFF UNLISTED FARMS GAZETTED FOR COMPULSORY ACQUISITION.

COMMENT

18. (C) BELLAMY'S MEETINGS WITH GOCHE, CHIWWE, AND NKOMO LEFT THE IMPRESSION OF A WELL-COORDINATED PROPAGANDA ASSAULT ORCHESTRATED FROM ON HIGH. THE THEMES CONVEYED BY ALL THREE WERE REMARKABLY SIMILAR, AND THE LANGUAGE USED WAS SOME OF THE MOST STRIDENT WE HAVE HEARD TO DATE. THE OFFICIALS' COMMENTS AND TONE STRUCK A NOTE OF DESPERATION IN THEIR EFFORT TO CONVINCE THE U.S. OF THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF THE ZIMBABWEAN POSITION. THERE WAS VERY LITTLE GIVE-AND-TAKE, AND THEY CONCEDED VERY FEW POINTS. IT IS ALSO SIGNIFICANT THAT NONE OF THE OFFICIALS SEEMED VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY OR WHAT THE OUTSIDE WORLD MIGHT DO TO HELP WITH IT. THE ECONOMY JUST DOES NOT SEEM TO BE PART OF THEIR POLITICAL CALCULUS. BASED ON WHAT THESE

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OFFICIALS TOLD US, THE ZANU-PF LEADERSHIP APPEARS TO BE
DIGGING IN ITS HEELS FOR A FIGHT WITH THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY, AND APPEARS EVER MORE READY TO SACRIFICE THE
INTERESTS OF THE COUNTRY FOR ITS OWN INTEREST OF STAYING
IN POWER. END COMMENT.

[19](#). (U) A/PDAS BELLAMY CLEARED THIS MESSAGE.

IRVING

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